

McCarthyism in Germany—*Carolus*

THE *Nation*

November 15, 1952

The Meaning of the Election

Comments by

William T. Evjue, Hugo Ernst, Stringfellow Barr, James G. Patton,
Maury Maverick, James P. Warburg, James Fitzsimmons Gardner,
Aubrey Williams, Murray D. Lincoln, Harry S. Ashmore,
Irving Dilliard, Walter White, Saul D. Alinsky

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“Ike” and “Mike” *TV and the Election*

BY SAUL CARSON

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Election Night with Stevenson

BY EDWARD LAMB

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AROUND THE U. S. A.

Election Night with Stevenson

Toledo, Ohio

A WEEK before the close of the Presidential campaign I had lunch with Adlai Stevenson. I had traveled through Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New York, and I passed on to him the pleas of many local professional politicians. All of them had begged me to slip the message past what they called the palace guard—Wilson Wyatt, Arthur Schlesinger, William McCormick Blair, and others. These politicians wanted the Presidential candidate to "get off of Korea and back to the bread-and-butter issues."

"No," said Stevenson, "my appeal is to the head and not alone to the belly. I believe that in all honesty my job is to educate the American people on this over-all world problem, and win or lose I'm going to stick on it. I'm going to live with myself in all the days ahead." The politicians simply replied that there were a lot of people, mothers and young people, as good and loyal as any other Americans, who just did not agree with the Truman foreign policies.

Well, if I couldn't persuade him to take the advice of some of his friends concerning the substance of his speeches, I could at least offer suggestions of my

own concerning the trappings of his campaign. In my opinion the advertising agencies handling General Eisenhower's talks were doing a much better television job. They dressed up with all the visual aids in the book Ike's and Dick's folksy visits to American homes. Governor Stevenson on the last day of the campaign did agree to bring his sons before the TV lens, but he still talked to the minds of his audience.

I saw the Governor in the Executive Mansion just before the returns came in, and of course he was hopeful. Then the gloom settled, and he decided at midnight to make his announcement of defeat. Afterward he asked me to return to his home for a talk. I remained with him until three-thirty in the morning.

The initial shock had subsided. Someone found a magnum around the place and we drank a toast. Then the Governor said, "Here's to Wilson Wyatt, the country's best campaign manager—from Adlai Stevenson, the world's worst politician!"

Actually there were tear-filled eyes in that room. Senator and Mrs. William Fulbright, Mr. and Mrs. Oscar Chapman, Mr. and Mrs. Ernest Ives, and a couple of others were there, with two of the Stevenson boys. My only contri-

bution was, "To Adlai Stevenson, an honest, gallant American!"

As the titular head of the Democratic Party, Governor Stevenson is quite aware that this is not the time for prolonged rest or for abandonment of the liberal, progressive principles for which he stands. With witch-hunters extraordinary now given the green light in Congress, it is possible that the liberal movement will have a rough time. But there are social and economic forces at work which will call for tremendous political decisions—and to carry them out any government in power will have to ask for the cooperation of millions of workers, farmers, and white-collar folks. And there might even be a depression.

Governor Stevenson had many disturbing thoughts during those early morning hours of November 5. If the Republicans insist upon raising high tariff barriers, will not our erstwhile allies in Europe and Asia have to turn to the Communist nations for trade, just to assure their own survival?

What are we to do? It was suggested by one of the early-morning guests that the liberal forces brought into being by the Volunteers for Stevenson might well be kept alive. A suggestion was made that Governor Stevenson go on television, possibly once a month, to discuss the issues before the American people. Everyone agrees that this witty, wholesome man has the fresh spirit and the basic wisdom to command respect from all sides.

As we sat around the table weighing the future, we slowly realized that this defeat might prove to be a real challenge to the democratic elements of the nation. The apathy which develops in any party long entrenched in power may now give way to the militant, forthright, progressive attitude of Adlai Stevenson. If the conservative forces attempt to scuttle labor, agricultural, or other public-welfare safeguards, it will be the task of all the forward-looking people in the United States to organize a new aggressive opposition. It looks as if we might build a common front around Adlai Stevenson of Illinois. EDWARD LAMB

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11/15/62

[Edward Lamb is publisher of the Erie Dispatch-Herald and owner of television stations in Erie and Columbus.]

THE *Nation*

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BEHIND EISENHOWER'S VICTORY

READERS in search of the meaning of the election—as who is not?—may make a selection from the variety of explanations offered by the distinguished contributors to the symposium published in this issue. But one meaning we reject: that the election can be regarded solely as a personal triumph for General Eisenhower. That it was a personal triumph goes without saying. But not to realize that it was a great deal more is to underestimate the emotions of the impressive majority whose votes swept the General into power. It is also to misread past events and likely future developments.

For us the outstanding fact which emerged from the Eisenhower victory is the feeling of insecurity that pervades the American electorate. Obviously Eisenhower had no program that could provide security. Obviously Stevenson was talking sense, and the record of the Democratic Party in historical perspective offered a firmer basis of security than did the Republican Party, its leadership, or Eisenhower's "team." But sense was rolled under by a wave of anxiety such as the American people had seldom experienced, and it was on this wave that Eisenhower rode to victory.

The components of the voters' mood were fear of the extension of the Korean war and desperation over the long stalemate, fear of communism stimulated by the unbridled campaign joined in by Democrats and Republicans alike, fear of economic collapse produced by inflation, high taxes, and doubt about America's ability to remain prosperous without war or war preparations. The Democrats showed little creative initiative in the campaign. It was Eisenhower who broke the ice in which the key issue of Korea had been encased, more by accident than by design, and once the issue was in the open, public feeling found expression. It did not matter that the General had nothing specific to propose, or that what he did say was empty and demagogic. He relieved anxiety by seeming to make the issue paramount, by insisting that he would do something about it. The Democrats, on the other hand, failed to recognize the intensity of the feeling; their negative attitude was taken as indifference by those whose indignation had been

aroused by the stalemate and continued losses in Korea.

On the issue of inflation the Democrats angered millions of voters by overdoing their claim that Americans "never had it so good." Squeezed by mounting taxes and high prices, many voters were under an enormous strain; if you are broke, there is nothing much to worry about, but inflation creates special neuroses. Again, it mattered little that the Republicans had a much worse record in Congress on all measures relating to inflation; at least they did not outrage the feelings of the man in the street, or more particularly the woman in the home, by a cynical slogan and the assumption that everybody was rich and comfortable.

A corollary factor was the issue of corruption. Americans particularly resent corruption and favoritism in the collection of taxes. The Nixon affair indicates that integrity is not a partisan virtue, but what aroused millions of voters was the complacent attitude of the President and some of his closest advisers toward revelations of widespread if rather petty venality in the Administration. To point back to the grand-scale corruption of the last Republican regime was of no avail in offsetting recent scandals.

In different circumstances the issue of communism—as a domestic menace—would not have been of major importance. But the strain of the last few years created a mood of fear in which the poison of anti-Communist demagoguery spread far and wide. The disposition to seek a scapegoat is always present, but it assumes the proportions of a mass movement only when people feel a real need for one—that is, in a time of trouble. Furthermore, the incontestable fact that we are fighting Communists in Korea and are engaged in a cold war with Communist Russia invested the wildest of McCarthy's charges with a bogus reality. Democratic denunciations of McCarthyism were robbed of much of their effect by the serious inroads made on civil liberties in the past four years either by the Administration or with its approval. This was the moment for a vigorous attack on the myth that communism represents a real threat to the American way of life. Instead, some Demo-

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crats even made the tactical blunder of catering to the hysteria which McCarthy was exploiting. For example, the supporters of Senator Benton, in reply to red-baiting opposition ads, ran full-page ads assuring Connecticut voters that Senator Benton was more "anti-Communist" than McCarthy and that he, not Joe, was the man Stalin really fears.

Another important factor in Eisenhower's victory was the machinery and technique of his campaign. No one will ever know how many millions were spent to establish the General's monopoly of television and radio, day and night, and to hammer away at the sales resistance of voters. In addition, a tightly knit organization worked steadily—from the precinct level up—to bring out the vote for Ike.

Contrast this with the Democratic apparatus. Governor Stevenson developed great appeal as a candidate, but the campaign in his behalf was inefficient and even, on the part of some city machines, half-hearted. The Democrats were badly handicapped by lack of funds, but elbow grease was lacking too. There was inadequate liaison between the party and the Volunteers for Stevenson. The latter did a creditable job in some areas but operated in others as if the Governor's chief problem was to carry the fashionable suburbs. Even labor, which had a very large stake in electing Stevenson, made a late start. In key states like California and New York the Democratic Party was seriously divided. The defeat of Representative Richard B. Vail in the Second Illinois Congressional District indicates what good political organization—in this instance by the Independent Voters of Illinois—might have accomplished elsewhere.

But whatever the reasons for Eisenhower's victory, to deny that it was a party as well as a personal triumph is to minimize the extent of reaction's victory. The Republican-Dixiecrat coalition and its allies in the China lobby scored heavily in the election. The close division in Congress conceals the fact that on domestic social issues and many foreign issues Eisenhower can count on a big majority in both houses. Certainly he will have less trouble with Democratic Senators Byrd, George, Eastland, Hoey, Holland, and McClelland than with some Republicans. The defeat of Republicans Cain, Kern, and Ecton is more than offset by other gains scored by the coalition. A glance at the new chairmen of key Senate committees will indicate the extent of the coalition's success: Jenner—Rules; Capehart—Banking and Currency; McCarthy—Expenditures in the Executive Department, the chief investigative committee; Millikin—Finance; Butler (replacing Senator O'Mahoney)—Interior and Insular Affairs; Taft—Labor; Martin—Public Works. Only the possible substitution of Langer for McCarran as chairman of the Judiciary Committee could possibly be scored as a setback for the coalition.

That Eisenhower paced the other Republican nominees

in Wisconsin does not mean that he can now be relied upon to keep McCarthy in his place. The General may call for unity, but the right-wing "radicals" are already demanding more purges and inquisitions. The returns were hardly in before David Lawrence, in his column in the New York *Herald Tribune*, scornfully rejected the notion of a political amnesty: the fight must go on, "the guilty must be punished." In these times his insistence that the new majority would not forget the "men of education, men of learning, men who teach in our colleges" who had made charges against McCarthy in supporting Stevenson carries sinister implications.

Liberal Democrats and independents should acknowledge the "why" of Eisenhower's victory, recognize the mistakes made in the campaign and prior to it, and then take heart from the size of the popular vote for Governor Stevenson and the extent to which the election fight set the stage for a basic realignment of the two major parties. The solid South is disintegrating. The coalition is openly in power, not conspiring behind a bipartisan mask. The Dixiecrats, McCarrans, McCarthys, and Tafts now frankly acknowledge the identity of their interests. Given the situation which has emerged, it is much better in the long run for liberals to be in honest opposition than to maintain a precarious hold on political power by opportunistic tactics and discreditable alliances. But the beginning of wisdom, on the morning after reaction's stunning victory, is to face the facts and not to join in magnifying America's new "leader."

The Shape of Things

Labor's Great Loss

The shock of Philip Murray's death will be felt far beyond the confines of the C. I. O. and of the labor movement as a whole. He was that not too common phenomenon, the labor statesman who fought his union battles with unflagging tenacity and still played a vigorous part in the nation's political life. In spite of increasing ill health Mr. Murray led the fifty-three-day steel strike earlier this year, which resulted in a substantial wage increase and other benefits for the workers but also produced the Supreme Court's ruling that the President had no right to seize the industry in peace time. From this struggle he turned to the political field and put in hard weeks campaigning for the election of Adlai Stevenson, as he had in previous elections fought for Roosevelt and, with less enthusiasm, for Truman.

Though he could be blunt and hard-hitting, Phil Murray was essentially a moderate, patient, conciliatory man, skilled at harmonizing differences within the United Steelworkers and the C. I. O. That his death will make way for sharp rivalries in the leadership is almost certain. The election of Eisenhower with all it portends for

organized labor makes us hope that the C. I. O. will choose as Mr. Murray's successor a chief who will know how to fight for the workers' rights in the context of the whole national and international situation. In the years to come labor will need leadership which is more than aggressive; it must also be politically conscious and alert.

Rightward in Britain

There have been cheerful tidings for British as well as American conservatives in the past week. At High Wycombe, a marginal constituency which the Labor Party lost narrowly in 1951 and hoped to regain, a Tory candidate won a hotly contested by-election with an increased majority. In another by-election a few days earlier at Cleveland, a Yorkshire industrial district, Labor retained the seat with a considerably reduced majority.

These results suggest that the slump in Tory popularity noticed earlier in the year has been checked, thanks more to dissension in Labor's ranks than to Conservative virtues. The Tories can of course congratulate themselves on a definite improvement in the position of sterling during the past six months, but pride may precede a fall. Signs of a new deterioration in Britain's export trade are accompanied by a decline in over-all production and a rise in unemployment. Yet as the Manchester *Guardian* notes in a critical comment on the Queen's speech at the opening of Parliament, the government is proposing to devote most of the new session to denationalizing steel and road transport and apparently has no clear plans for tackling the more urgent problems of expanding production and trade.

It remains to be seen whether the Labor Party can close its ranks sufficiently to take full advantage of the government's errors and omissions. Mr. Attlee's recent victory in the Parliamentary Labor Party caucus achieved its objective—the formal demobilization of the Bevanite group—but it has left sores that will not heal rapidly.

Bolivian Gamble

Thanks to intensive exploitation of their workers and skilful manipulation of governments, the three major Bolivian tin-mining companies—Patiño, Hochschild, and Aramayo—in which American and other foreign investors have a large interest, have long enjoyed a profitable career. But now the illiterate Indian miners have found in President Victor Paz Estenssoro a champion willing to take the risks of nationalization. "These three companies," he said after he seized power last April, "are bigger than the government. That cannot be."

But nationalization of its chief natural resource will not automatically bring prosperity to Bolivia, which needs both foreign capital and foreign know-how to raise its standard of living. This being the case, President Paz Estenssoro's compensation proposal appears to us un-

realistic. Provisionally the companies are being offered about \$22,000,000 for properties they value at some \$60,000,000. In addition, the government has filed a claim of \$520,000,000 against them for alleged evasion of taxes and illegal foreign-exchange deals. This claim may have some basis, but there is little doubt that the amount has been wildly inflated; it looks like a rather transparent device to avoid the legal obligation to pay compensation.

Even from a coldly practical point of view these tactics seem shortsighted. With world production in excess of consumption, there is now a buyers' market for tin. By antagonizing potential customers the Bolivians, like the Iranians, may be throwing away the expected benefits of nationalization.

The Laugh's on Us

It didn't take much imagination to foresee that Charlie Chaplin's visit to England and France would turn into a triumphal tour. On October 20 he was dined by the House of Lords (this is our favorite scene); on October 27 he was presented to Her Majesty, Queen Elizabeth, at a command performance of "Limelight." From England he went to Paris, where he was made an officer of the Legion of Honor and entertained at dinner by President Auriol. In both countries he has been greeted everywhere by crowds of people eager to do honor to a great actor.

It shouldn't have taken much imagination either to foresee that Chaplin's triumphal tour might serve to dissipate some of the anti-American feeling in Europe. But the Senator from Nevada took care of that. Using Mr. McCarran's latest invention for unmaking friends and antagonizing whole peoples, the Department of Immigration was impelled to speed the parting guest by threatening not to let him come back. And the result was inevitable. The crowds that greeted Chaplin were given a golden opportunity not only to do honor to a great actor but to express their anti-American sentiment, and the triumphal tour has been turned, by Mr. Chaplin's admirers, into a variation of that old vaudeville routine known as kidding the (McCarran) act—which would be funny if it were not so grim.

End of the "Compass"

The disappearance of the *Daily Compass* from the New York newsstands has left a gap which for some 30,000 people will not soon be filled. It was a small paper—more features than news—but it spoke for an audience to whom it was the one honest, crusading daily in the city. If tenacity and zeal could have kept the *Compass* alive, it would still be coming off the presses, for its publisher, Ted Thackrey, supplied plenty of both. But capital became increasingly hard to find.

The *Compass* was in a sense a casualty of the cold war. Its generally left-wing position cut it off from most sources of support, financial and otherwise. We regret its going; there should be room in New York for one such daily—especially in a period when the yellow press of the far right fattens on Republicanism and reaction. The death of the *Compass* is an unhappy sign of our times.

President Weizmann

In every generation a few men—a very few—are indispensable. Without them their country, their cause, would not succeed. Chaim Weizmann was such a man. No one else among all the devoted and able chiefs of the Zionist movement possessed such a range of rare and needed qualities: man of his people and man of the world, intellectual and fighter, prophet and statesman. Money-raiser, too—and propagandist! He was the one leader who, even in the earliest days of the movement, could meet with Lord Balfour or General Allenby or Mr. Churchill as co-equal, wearing the assurance that comes not from official rank but from the springs of inner power.

It is Israel's immense good fortune that Dr. Weizmann lived to preside over its founding and to serve as its first President. He put his stamp on the new state, instilling confidence that the years of dream and struggle would not be dishonored in the reality. His death is a personal loss for every man and woman who knew him. It is a national loss for Israel. But above all it is a loss for the democratic forces of the world, of which Chaim Weizmann was one of the most distinguished leaders.

Next Week in *The Nation*

WHAT HAPPENED IN THE ELECTIONS?

A Five-Point Regional Analysis

Just what happened in the election? What sub-surface forces were at work? What were the regional variations? The results in five main sections of the country will be analyzed from a regional point of view by a group of informed contributors.

The Southern States

William Carleton of the University of Florida

The Inter-Mountain States

Thomas C. Donnelly, president of New Mexico Highlands University; editor of "Rocky Mountain Politics"

The Middle West

Samuel Eldersveld of the University of Michigan

New England

James Burns of Williams College

The West Coast

David Farrelly, of the University of California

North Africa: A Preview

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

United Nations

THE arrival of the French Foreign Minister, Robert Schuman, and of the British Foreign Secretary, Anthony Eden—they had waited for the American election results before making their appearance at the United Nations—has focused interest on Tunisia and Morocco, the most controversial items, after Korea, on the present session's agenda. The personalities of the two ministers are complementary, and on this particular issue a new *entente cordiale* has been established between them. At a Cabinet meeting held in Paris on the eve of his departure M. Schuman was once more instructed to conduct an uncompromising fight in the General Assembly against the Arab nationalists who are trying to enlist support for their demand for home rule for Tunisia and Morocco. Mr. Eden, for his part, will use his very persuasive influence to convince certain delegations—particularly the American—that they should not go beyond a purely formal approval of the attitude the Arab-Asian bloc has taken on this subject.

The voices of the French and the British sound alike. The French voice is perhaps more brusque when the speaker is Marshal Alphonse Pierre Juin, commander of Allied ground forces for Central Europe, who said in a recent interview in the Spanish magazine *Destino*: "In my opinion France should withdraw immediately from the United Nations if the latter attempts to intervene directly in Moroccan and Tunisian questions." But the voice of Mr. Hopkinson, British Minister of State for Colonial Affairs, sharpened by the publicity given to recent events in Kenya, is no less categorical: "Great Britain will not tolerate any interference by the United Nations in the political evolution of her colonies."

The French position is formulated in terms of the Moroccan treaty of 1912, which, like its Tunisian equivalent, was recognized by all the powers. In accordance with those treaties, questions relating to Tunisia and Morocco are held to be purely internal questions, which no country is required to submit to an international body. However, the editor of *Le Monde*, in an article entitled *Hard Realities*, on October 25 asked whether "the French will ever realize that they have little by little installed in Morocco and Tunisia a de facto regime of direct administration in no way foreseen in the relevant treaties, and that this regime has little by little become, also as a matter of fact, ever more difficult to maintain." The "hard realities" referred to in the title are that the nationalist movement has spread far and penetrated deeply in the last two years. It is no longer confined to the more extreme political parties and groups. It has the full backing of the two sovereigns, the Bey of Tunis and the Sultan of Morocco. The powerful General

Federation of Tunisian Workers, affiliated with the anti-Communist International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, is supporting Bourguiba's Nationalist Party. In spite of French repression the movement is able to stage all kinds of demonstrations and harassments.

But apart from occasional admissions such as that printed in *Le Monde*, the attitude of France is one of resentment over the indifference of other countries toward the accomplishments of French colonial policy and over the hostility of the North Africans themselves. The reforms offered by France have been turned down by both Tunisia and Morocco. The principal difficulty lies in two different conceptions of sovereignty and in the rejection by the nationalists of any plan that would give French residents a share in the government.

On the other hand, the influence of private colonial interests has for many years prevented the carrying out of measures which, undertaken in time, could have averted the present critical situation. The best land in North Africa has been absorbed by the French settlers. The entire mining industry is owned by the colonizing power. The Second World War stimulated the establishment of industries for military purposes. After the war industrialization was further promoted by big French companies which found in North Africa cheap labor, a very benevolent tax system, and possible sanctuary in case of a Communist coup or a Russian invasion of France. In itself industrialization was a good thing, even indispensable, since agriculture alone no longer offered a sufficient economic base for the population. But North African industry is in the hands of the great French combines—Pont-à-Mousson, Air Liquide, Ales, Froges et Camargue, Saint-Gobain, Solvay, and others. Political influence at home is now exercised not only by the French settlers in North Africa but also by these powerful firms.

Franco-British diplomacy in the U. N. will try to persuade the United States that the French and British views must be taken into account in dealing with all colonial questions. It will try to prevent the dispatching of a United Nations commission to Tunisia and Morocco—the immediate object of the Arab-Asian bloc—and to limit U. N. action in those countries to a recommendation that the French government be as liberal and prompt as possible in granting reforms. The Arab-Asian bloc, the Soviet bloc, and some of the Latin American countries will firmly maintain their stand against the colonizing power. What position will the United States take?

For a large section of foreign opinion the election of General Eisenhower is the victory of ultimatum over diplomacy. But there is still a margin for negotiation, at least among actual and potential allies. The difficulty in this case is to decide which pays better—French loyalty and the airfields of North Africa or the establishment of a united Middle East command with the collaboration of the Arab states.

November 15, 1952

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The Meaning of the Election

[To get the liberal reaction to the meaning of the election, The Nation invited the following comments. The contributors are well known to most of our readers. They represent, we feel, a good cross-section of liberal opinion. Next week we will present a five-point regional analysis of what happened in the election.]

William T. Evjue

Editor and Publisher of the Madison Capital Times

Madison, Wisconsin

WHAT seems most alarming about the outcome of the election is the apparent eagerness of the American people to turn to a military hero to solve the many problems they face today. General Eisenhower's campaign was plainly designed to appeal to an electorate weary of the long struggle that has continued through the depression, the war, and the post-war effort to win the peace. Eisenhower was presented as the strong man with the easy answers.

He promised tax cuts, he talked glibly of bringing the boys home from Korea and letting "Asians fight Asians." His discussion of the issues that press for solution on the home front was seldom more specific than a promise to do something about them or to bring in the "best brains" to wrestle with them. The eagerness with which people received his demagogic offer to go to Korea was a dismaying indication of how ready they are to surrender their own democratic responsibilities to a man of action. This probably accounts for the considerable appeal the General apparently had for women, who are most worried about the continuation of the Korean war.

On the other hand Governor Stevenson refused to promise any miracles. He lived up to his promise to talk sense, offering nothing but his own unstinting efforts in the common cause of working and thinking our way through the problems that beset us.

The American people seem to be in a mood also for a return to the grand isolation of the twenties. They are enjoying unprecedented prosperity, but they are handicapped in their enjoyment of it by the demands of the struggle to stop communism and build peace. This mood is most concretely expressed in the complaints about taxes and the Korean conflict. Many who voted for the change are worried about communism, but they want to fight it the easy and inexpensive way—the phony way of McCarthy.

The election seems above all to have been an expression of faith in General Eisenhower to do the impossible—to give the nation peace and prosperity, and, very possibly, a chance for another big binge, by merely waving his general's baton. It is quite likely that the Republicans' presentation of Eisenhower as a man who could measure up to that faith will have a devastating reaction before the Congressional elections of 1954. In the second two years of his term President Eisenhower may have to work with a big Democratic majority in Congress.

Hugo Ernst

General President of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' and Bartenders' International Union

Cincinnati

In the first few hours after Ike's victory, two things are clear: (1) the American people saw Eisenhower and a sweeping change as the likeliest means of getting relief from the tensions generated by Korea and the cold war; (2) the time is long overdue for the labor movement to engage in the most searching self-analysis and come up with a practical formula for labor unity.

Not till the closing weeks of the campaign did either candidate begin to deal with the "forgotten issue"—Korea. Stevenson candidly told the people he had no "easy solution"; he felt the conflict was necessary and would have to be continued pretty much along the lines laid down by the present Administration. But the night before the election, perhaps sensing the people's mood more clearly, he was ready to say that an armistice in Korea would be his "first order of business."

Ike began by ignoring Korea, moved on to say it would not have happened but for the Democrats, and wound up with two dramatic vote-winning statements: that he favored pulling American boys out and letting "Asians fight Asians"; and that, if elected, he would "personally go to Korea" to see what could be done to end the fighting.

All observers, including Stevenson in his short talk conceding the election, interpreted the vote as a mandate to Ike to "do something" about Korea and peace. And surely if Ike can reduce the tensions and insure peace he will win the undying gratitude of the American people. All of us will be watching and praying for positive steps to be taken.

From the standpoint of organized labor, the Republican sweep has ominous implications. Those of us who cried out in the past for labor unity can now say "it is later than you think." The new Congress will in all probability be dominated by men who have been waiting ten or twelve years for an opportunity to turn back the clock. Like the Congress of 1946 which produced Taft-Hartley and began scuttling the New Deal, it will be a double-riveted anti-labor Congress.

Labor must reexamine its organization, its methods, its goals. We must put our finger on the reasons for the complacency which has developed to shield us from the realities of the world we live in. We must discover why we have failed to keep strong the militant spirit which built our movement in the 30's and 40's. Obviously, we must subject our whole approach to political education and political action to the most exacting self-criticism.

We can take comfort from this: the political pendulum swings slowly. It is now, I believe, approaching its maximum reactionary swing. In time the electorate will begin the return to the liberal, progressive ideas which were dominant for most of the past twenty years. Our task is to help the pendulum to reverse its direction.

Stringfellow Barr

*Professor at the University of Virginia and Author of
"Citizens of the World"*

Charlottesville, Virginia

Who could do most about corruption, communism, Korea, and the cost of living? The voters say Eisenhower, though more and more of them were wavering when time was called. The Truman Administration had failed to react strongly enough against "friendly deals." Like the Republicans, the Democrats red-baited; but the Republicans out-red-baited them. Democratic foreign policy seemed to misfire. Look at Korea. So the General promised to go to Korea. And if inflation is due to our foreign problem, get another grip on foreign policy and get rid of inflation. Governor Stevenson rose like a meteor; he was so clearly the General's superior. But the four weak points in the Democratic record fatally slowed his rise.

Governor Stevenson says foreign policy is the basic issue. It is. The cold war makes all Democrats look like Socialists, all Socialists look like Communists, and all Communists look like spies. In a cold war Korea seems to prove that our problem is military, not political or economic; money grows flush and morals grow easy; and rearmament spreads inflation over the planet.

We shall get a good foreign policy the moment we discover that the "free world" looks on world poverty as mankind's basic problem—not communism and not the offer of the Communists to solve that problem by force. Now that the Democratic Party must fight with ideas rather than patronage, it is lucky to have a leader better fitted than any other American statesman since Woodrow Wilson to help them find ideas. I await that leader's proposal of a positive, constructive foreign policy, one that appeals to foreigners as well as to those Americans who want their leaders to talk sense. I hope he travels widely abroad, particularly in the hungriest countries, as soon as possible. If he does, I am confident he will know what homework to assign us Democrats. Then a party that has started to repeat itself can offer the country in 1956 the leadership it will need.

James G. Patton

President of the National Farmers' Union

Denver

Undoubtedly the election has set back the cause of American liberal progressivism, whether we are in an interregnum or at the end of an era. I believe this is an interregnum, but obviously we are not yet a mature people, able to face and deal with the world as it is on mature terms. Obviously there is an intellectual lag; perhaps our task now is to cut down that lag as much as possible.

We have given a hostage to fortune by choosing a new leader who was willing to promise anything to get elected, found his promises believed—as is shown by the size of his vote—and is now confronted by the almost insuperable task of making good. When the blank checks are presented for payment, the Eisenhower bank may have to default or go out of business altogether. That will be a good thing, for some of those checks represent the sacrifice of advances that

the American people have long fought for and steadily supported.

Under cover of American interest in what is happening abroad we may expect the reactionaries and special interests to make hay at home. There is work for American progressive liberalism—more work, perhaps, than it has faced for twenty years.

Maury Maverick

Former Congressman and Former Mayor of San Antonio

San Antonio, Texas

In the local press the headlines read "Adlai Leaders Swallow Loss with Smile." Unauthorized and unexpected by me, I was also correctly quoted: "Common people done cut their own throats, quipped Maury Maverick, dean of the local Democrats."

We did, and why? All over America the Democratic Administration had made vast millions carefree, prosperous, physically healthy. The Democratic program of high wages and low interest rates went to the building of churches, homes, race tracks, taverns, beer halls. We bought televisions, we looked; and we read trash, comics, and sports. Then we gloated and voted as we lived, and as the headlines read, believing impossible lies—so the Republicans took it all away.

Whoopie! I like Ike! In Germany the people had chanted for another idol, and there was Communist fear. They liked General von Hindenburg. He knew nothing of politics or civil life: then came chaos and Hitler. Same in the United States, but no policy of General Eisenhower's is known; so the result cannot be foreseen.

Here in America it was a trend for a general, a Grand Lama or Buddha, with a grin to make us slap-happy, and a symbol of take-my-trouble-away. And we fell for the clever and sly lie by Nixon, Goebbelsesque character, the most superficial but potentially dangerous national candidate ever elected in our history.

We forgot or never knew of our precarious world position and that we are in serious trouble internationally. (And we overlooked the undisciplined behavior of several generals.) Hurrah and away from Korea; we will furnish the jellied gasoline, the lethal weapons; let Asians kill Asians! We didn't even consider that India will turn against us, that the Mohammedan world moves farther away, England farther left, that France will turn us out; no newspapers told us about the world or even that there is one. We want all we got and don't want no high taxes.

That was it.

James P. Warburg

Author of "Victory Without War"

New York

It is much too soon to attempt an analysis of what General Eisenhower's tremendous victory means. Only a few broad observations seem warranted.

The first is that the country has overwhelmingly repudiated President Truman and what has come to be known as "Trumanism." It is a pity that so fine a man as Adlai Steven-

son should have had to take the rap for an Administration in which he had had no part.

The second observation is that General Eisenhower did not have to make the compromises he made in order to win. He could have carried Wisconsin without indorsing McCarthy, Indiana without indorsing Jenner, and the Presidency without the support of the Dixiecrats. Had he not compromised his principles he might have had a Congress more ready to support those principles, though not necessarily on a straight partisan basis.

Finally, the outcome of the election shows that the majority of the people were less interested in a program for solving the major problems of foreign and domestic policy than in electing a leader whom they expected somehow to solve those problems for them. They rejected the candidate who tried to tell them what he would do, if elected, in favor of the candidate who said, "Trust me to do the right thing." It is to be hoped—and hoped fervently—that the people will now do more than sit back and expect President Eisenhower to lead them to peace and prosperity, for unless they do more—unless they pitch in and help the man they have elected—he will not be able to captain his motley "team."

On the optimistic side, we may now see, under Adlai Stevenson's leadership, the emergence of a factor which has been sadly lacking in our democracy for twenty years—that is, a responsible, loyal opposition, which offers not obstruction but constructive criticism. It is to be hoped that we have not seen the last of Adlai Stevenson, for, with all due respect to General Eisenhower, the man from Illinois is the most promising figure that has emerged upon the scene of American politics in this generation.

James Fitzsimmons Gardner

Director, Labor's League for Political Education

Boston

It would seem to me intemperate to read into the results of the Presidential election any far-reaching political implications. The real issues were for the most part ignored by the voters. Stevenson talked sense to the American people, but his sense did not overcome the tremendous popularity of the General. The Eisenhower sweep was not a political victory; it was a personal one. This was fully demonstrated by the failure of the Republican Congressional and Senatorial candidates to win in areas where Eisenhower rolled up huge majorities. In Massachusetts two groups seemed most taken with the General—women and young voters.

Unemployment and old-age compensation are difficult goals to sell to a healthy employed worker. Today the voters are not for the party that demands social legislation but for the party that speaks of tax reductions.

Playing politics with the heartbreak of Korea was the low-water mark in the campaign. In Boston the Republican organization passed out cards with the legend, "Stop the killing in Korea; elect Eisenhower." The door is open wide to a great disenchantment when Eisenhower returns from Korea without an effective solution.

Our immediate concern is who is going to advise Eisenhower on the staggering social, economic, and political problems before him. We shall know him by his friends.

Aubrey Williams

Publisher of the Southern Farm and Home

Montgomery, Alabama

The meaning of the election is not different in the South from in other sections except in so far as the voters were told different things. Stevenson was not guilty of this equivocation. Most of the local and state Democratic party leaders, however, took sharp issue with Stevenson on civil rights and the filibuster.

Everybody knew that the Republicans talked one way down South and another way in other places. They assured Southerners that nothing would be done about civil rights or any other issue which conflicted with the South's wishes. That the Democrats carried Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, North Carolina, Louisiana, and Arkansas in the face of unrestrained attempts to arouse Southerners' fear and hate of the Negro can mean only one thing: the South has advanced far toward abolishing the injustice it has practiced against the Negro.

One special significance of the election for the South is that the large Republican vote, while admittedly based on Ike's personal qualities, should go far to establish a second political party in the Southern states. Dixiecrats wish it; many non-Dixiecrats wish it; and many young people would like to show their independence by entering such a party. Much new blood has been brought into the erstwhile "vest-pocket" Southern Republican Party.

In the South as elsewhere underlying factors in the voting were a feeling of frustration over the failure to achieve more results in our struggle with the Russians and communism and a sense of guilt toward those who have borne the suffering in Korea. It may be that in selecting a military leader, with its large implications of wanting a father and burden bearer, we have taken a tragic step toward weakening the rights and responsibilities of the individual and strengthening the central authority. In other words, we may have moved closer to the authoritarian state. Only time and Eisenhower will be able to provide us with the answer to that.

Murray D. Lincoln

President of the Farm Bureau Insurance Company

Chicago

To me the most striking thing that has come out of this election is the proof that our two-party system is as sound as ever and that the people will participate in time of crisis. We need both a strong Administration and a strong opposition, and more especially we need to have the people themselves involved in decisions of government and in world affairs. The pressure of the changing world is unifying mankind beyond the point where an individual or a society can refuse to participate.

General Eisenhower has had wide experience in tackling global problems. Before his return from Europe he had recognized that we can't win with guns alone. He knew and declared that to win the peace we must carry out a program of economic and technical aid to less fortunate countries. He knows the value of cooperation with others. The groups which brought about his nomination and started him on the

way to election were certainly committed to that same international point of view.

The crucial question now is whether or not the General will surround himself with men who will strengthen and expand economic aid and world cooperation or whether he will choose for his advisers men who will oppose programs for helping people to help themselves.

Harry S. Ashmore

Editor of the Arkansas Gazette

Little Rock, Arkansas

We still do not know what kind of Republican Dwight Eisenhower really is.

The campaign provided no answer but only compounded the confusion, for the General ranged from passionate indorsement of collective security to the edge of Asia-first isolationism. On his own record he often sounded like a man debating with himself. Nor did the voting pattern provide any real indication, for the General ran far ahead of the Republican Party almost everywhere, and many of those who voted for him believed they were indorsing a great personal crusade above the level of partisan politics.

The domestic side of the debate was always secondary; basic democratic reforms are now so popular as to be impervious to political change. The great hazard is in the area of international relations, and it is too real for any but the blindest partisans to draw automatic comfort from the prospect of a change.

The first real cue to the future will come when the Cabinet appointments are announced. If the General stands by the Dewey-Lodge-Duff internationalist coalition that won the nomination for him, it can be assumed that he still indorses the main elements of existing foreign policy. If, however, the appointments reflect the dominance of the Taft wing of the party, there will be cause for general alarm.

It is fair to say that the majority of those who voted for Eisenhower took him on faith. Those of us who opposed him can only express a fervent hope that their confidence proves justified.

Irving Dilliard

Editor of the Editorial Page, St. Louis Post-Dispatch

St. Louis

A multiplicity of factors was responsible for the outcome of the election. The Korean war, inflation, high taxes, long Democratic tenure, corruption in government, Communist espionage—these and other matters seemingly added up to a general protest, and support for the argument that it was "time for a change." But the foremost factor was the personal popularity of General Eisenhower, who at the time of his nomination had been a world military celebrity for nearly a decade.

As for Adlai E. Stevenson, he was and will continue to be one of the best-qualified men ever nominated for the Presidency. His campaign was unique for candor and for honest and informed discussion of the issues; it was largely above partisanship. Those who say that his kind of campaign cost

him the election overlook not only the heavy handicaps he carried but also the fact that many voters responded with profound belief and enthusiasm. His popular vote of approximately 27,000,000 has been exceeded by only two other Presidential candidates—General Eisenhower and Franklin D. Roosevelt. For his memorable contribution to American political thinking Adlai Stevenson has everlasting satisfactions that no victory by itself could possibly have brought.

With Republican control goes Republican responsibility. General Eisenhower and his party are going to find that it is much easier to oppose and condemn than to administer wisely and effectively. The very slender Republican margins in Congress make it clear that the Presidential campaigner who only a few days ago wanted to exterminate all Democrats in Washington will next January be eagerly seeking Democratic cooperation; he will need it if he hopes to make good on his promises to develop a positive foreign policy and to extend the New Deal and Fair Deal social gains.

Senator Wayne Morse, who followed his conscience and supported Governor Stevenson at no little political risk, winds up in the most strategic spot in Congress. Chalk up a point for honesty in a campaign in which honesty was kicked all over the lot by the hucksters.

Saul D. Alinsky

*Executive Director of the Industrial Areas Foundation,
Author of "John L. Lewis, a Biography"*

Chicago

It is impossible to do more than speculate on the causes of the political earthquake of November 4. Interpretations will include the "revolution of the right," repudiation of Trumanism, an American people beset with fears, anxiety, and insecurity to the point of hysteria, high prices and taxes, a holy crusade against corruption and communism, Korea, mass desperation seeking escape in a "leader."

For some time the existence of the so-called labor vote has been seriously questioned. It has been asked to what extent the labor unions, possessed of their members' economic loyalty, can also claim their political allegiance. In the Roosevelt era it was impossible to determine conclusively whether the workers voted for Roosevelt because their union supported him or whether, as is more probable, they voted for him for reasons of their own rather than because of the indorsement of the union. One dramatic test of this question was provided by the break of John L. Lewis, then president of the C. I. O., with Roosevelt in 1940. His disaffection did not jar the workers' loyalty to the President. It is doubtful that the political results of that year would have been significantly altered if the other titular leaders of labor had joined in the rejection of Roosevelt.

The 1950 landslide victory of Taft in Ohio is another case in point.

Indubitably the labor movement must completely reorient its political strategy and probably its political philosophy. Its ties to the Administration—ties lasting more than a generation—have been summarily severed. This may in the long run have positive benefits for the labor movement.

November 15, 1952

The Charles C. Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
Johnson City, Tennessee

Walter White

Executive Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

New York

Like other Americans, including Republicans, I do not understand fully the meaning of the election. False statements which created fears regarding the Korean war, charges of corruption and communism in government, rising prices and shrinking savings, along with the conviction that no party should remain in power too long, overshadowed some other factors. Chief of these was the success of the campaign conducted by the Dixiecrats against President Truman because of his uncompromising stand on civil rights. That campaign played into the hands of anti-Democrats, particularly during

the last forty-eight hours, when thousands of leaflets dropped from airplanes over Southern cities asserted:

Negro bosses in the mills if Stevenson is elected. . . . The Democratic platform would force the Negro down your throats. . . . It [F. E. P. C.] would be a law by which every company operating wherever Negroes live would be required and compelled, whether willing or not, to hire Negroes as well as white people and to put Negroes and white people to work together. . . . Eisenhower is against all this. If he is elected, F. E. P. C. law will not pass. In order to save our way of life, to avoid the racial struggle, we the white people of the South must vote for Ike.

Such Nazi-like appeals, which were tragically effective, do not, of course, tell the whole story. But they fitted snugly into the pattern of fear and smear used by men like McCarthy, Byrnes, and Talmadge.

McCarthyism in Germany

BY CAROLUS

Bonn

IF McCARTHYISM were confined to America it would be a purely American concern. But when the McCarthy spirit penetrates into Western Europe, borne by American military and political authorities, and endangers the objectives for which America fought the Second World War, then surely it is time for a European to speak out.

For the past several weeks West Germany has been agitated by the revelations of Dr. Zinn, the Social Democratic Minister-President of Hesse. From the rostrum of the provincial parliament Dr. Zinn declared that Hesse was the headquarters of an organization calling itself the League of German Youth (Bund Deutscher Jugend) which was using the old reliable Nazi methods of violence and intimidation to dominate German political life. The avowed purpose of the league, he said, was to combat the "defeatism" of the West German population in the face of the Soviet Union and communism. To this end it had set up offices with high-paid staffs in many West German cities and put out a vast amount of propaganda. Some of its funds came from the Bonn government and wealthy industrialists, but the largest part was provided by the Americans.

Of course everybody knew that many anti-Russian organizations were operating in West Germany—propaganda against communism and for remilitarization has become one of the surest sources of income. What was sensational in Dr. Zinn's disclosures was that the Youth League had a two-thousand-strong "Technical Service" which was really a band of terrorists, with a secret arsenal and a clubhouse where members were being trained

to break up meetings and manhandle political opponents. The birds had flown when the Hesse police entered the building, but they had left behind their lists of persons who were to be liquidated. Eighteen pages of names of German Communists were found. In addition, eighty Social Democratic and trade-union officials were marked for murder—among them Erich Ollenhauer, successor to the late Kurt Schumacher, Hans Fehn, head of the railroad workers' union, and the mayors of Berlin, Hamburg, and Bremen, all known anti-Communists. The Hesse Minister of the Interior was proscribed because he had forbidden meetings of fanatical rightists and the Hesse Minister of Religious Affairs because he was a leading Protestant churchman and a friend of Dr. Niemöller. Five Social Democratic deputies in the Hesse Parliament were also on the list.

The pro-Adenauer press tried at first to ridicule Dr. Zinn's revelations and dismiss them as election propaganda. The federal Minister of Justice took the same attitude until he had examined the seized material. Now all the West German papers, whatever their party affiliation, express serious concern. The Hesse government has kept back some of the facts out of a desire not to embarrass the American occupation authorities, for the Technical Service of the Youth League was created by the United States army and its account books show monthly contributions of \$12,000 from American sources. In fact, the Americans have officially admitted that they established it after the outbreak of the Korean war in preparation for a possible Russian invasion of West Germany; the members were to organize nests of resistance in Russian-occupied West German areas and conduct partisan warfare. Later, the American official statement said, this policy was abandoned and the or-

CAROLUS is the pseudonym of The Nation's correspondent in West Germany.

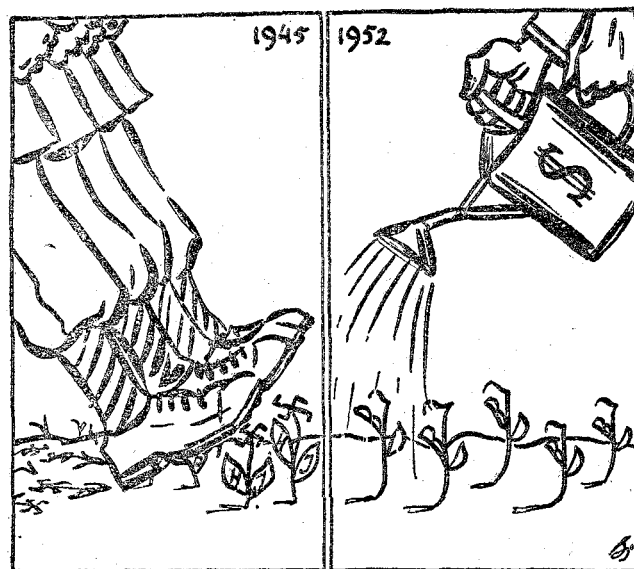
ganization dissolved. The Hesse police, after Dr. Zinn's revelations, arrested some of the leaders but had to release them because they were employees of the American army of occupation and thus outside the competence of a German tribunal.

By this time the Bavarian Minister-President, leader of a middle-class Roman Catholic party, had announced that a similar secret organization equipped with American arms had been discovered in Bavaria, and it has been reported that one exists in Schleswig-Holstein. United States civilian officials attached to the High Commissioner's office were apparently unpleasantly surprised to find that organizations of this kind had been financed with American money and trained by American military. The Moscow radio, on the contrary, must have been overjoyed to be provided with such valuable propaganda material.

THE well-paid leaders of the Youth League, according to Dr. Zinn, were men from thirty-five to fifty years old, veterans of Hitler's Wehrmacht and Himmeler's S. S.—the same trained murderers who during the Third Reich liquidated millions in Germany and German-occupied Europe. The newspapers report that the organization has already one murder to its credit, but since its leaders are under the protection of the United States army, they are still enjoying their freedom and even holding press conferences in Bonn.

If the American army officers who founded and financed the Technical Service were not aware of its political aims, that was merely one more example of the almost childlike faith and naivete with which the occupation regards German remilitarization. Erich Ollenhauer used much stronger language about American policy in a recent Berlin speech. "What has now been made public," he said, "is the result of a stupid, brainless anti-Bolshevism which is quite valueless for the cause of democracy." McCarthyism, translated into German, attacks the real enemies of communism because they happen to be Social Democrats. When Schumacher died, the highest praise that the German and foreign press could bestow upon him was to say that in 1945-46 he and his associates had prevented the establishment of a Communist-led Unity Party in West Germany and it was therefore thanks to him that the Russians were not on the banks of the Rhine today. The Social Democrats oppose German rearmament because they believe that a just social order provides the only solid base for a successful defense against communism. But for the fascists, the Social Democrats are the enemy who must be liquidated. Schumacher is dead; so they place his successor on their murder list. A new party in West Germany, the Association of Democratic Socialists, formed for the purpose of splitting the Social Democratic Party, receives an American subsidy of \$30,000 a month.

November 15, 1952



From *Die Tat* of Zurich

A grotesque touch has just been added to Dr. Zinn's account of the League of German Youth. It appears that its all-powerful head, a certain Herr Lüth, was a zealous member of the German Communist Party from 1945 to 1947 and conducted high-level negotiations with the Russian occupation authorities in East Germany. Moreover, he practiced medicine and paraded as a physician although he had had no medical training. Apparently any West German who acts like an anti-Communist can win the confidence of the Americans regardless of his past history. Honest and decent democrats who have fought all their lives against communism and for democracy, and suffered the consequences, get no recognition from the occupation authorities, many of whom show a marked preference for former Nazis, S. S. men, professional soldiers, and even common crooks. To such Americans a Social Democrat is merely a Communist of a slightly different hue. As a matter of fact, Social Democrats and trade unionists would be the first victims of a Communist dictatorship, while Herr Lüth and his companions in the Technical Service would prosper under the Russians just as they do under the Americans. McCarthyism in West Germany can have only one result—the creation of a horde of mercenaries without a shred of character, eager to serve the highest bidder.

Every sincere German democrat and anti-Communist views with deep concern the rising tide of anti-Americanism, for they know it is the Communists who will have the last laugh. The Technical Service and similar secret organizations aim at something more than the elimination of eighty leading Socialists. They intend to get rid of the democracy they hate and to establish a fascist dictatorship. Given the presence of the Soviet army just across the border, the result can only be civil war ending in a Communist dictatorship. This time the millions of organized workers will not march like lambs to the slaughter as they did in 1933. Karl Gerold, editor-in-

chief of the *Frankfurter Rundschau*, a pro-American newspaper which supports German rearmament as a protection against the threat of communism, put the matter in a nutshell in a recent editorial:

If the American military authorities did not know that murder and civil war were being plotted they were

both deceivers and deceived. We German democrats must refuse to join forces with fascists in the fight against the Stalinists. People who do not understand what the conflict between freedom and oppression is all about should go home. . . . We must make it clear to the United States that we will not defend Europe in alliance with fascists.

"Ike" and "Mike"—TV and the Election

BY SAUL CARSON

AT 1:23 a. m. Governor Adlai Stevenson was ready to concede. Deftly all television networks switched from their election-night centers in New York to Springfield, Illinois, where for hours two cameras had been kept ready to show the final act of the fourteen-week campaign. At this moment of climax TV fumbled.

One of the cameras at Springfield covered the Stevenson headquarters at the Leland Hotel, and an announcer was there to report the doings. The other camera was on a Springfield street in front of the Executive Mansion so that the country might see the Democratic candidate leaving his home to go to the hotel. No announcer was with this camera. When its image was brought to the TV channels, we saw the Governor's home, owl-like in the gloom, and the scurrings of men who may have been police officers or newspaper photographers; but no one explained the bustle. TV then brought in the voice of the announcer at the hotel, who of course did not know that his remarks had no relevance to the picture being shown. The networks brought in the voices of men in New York to comment on the street scene in Springfield and made matters worse. Coordination between audio and video channels had collapsed.

But the confusion lasted only seconds. NBC-TV and CBS-TV switched quickly into commercials. Until Stevenson was ready to enter the range of the camera in the hotel at Springfield, Philco and Westinghouse plugs were given the air's right-of-way. That was the only slip I detected in the otherwise excellent broadcast coverage of an event of great importance. Yet the solution at which our two leading networks jumped in those seconds of distress seemed symbolic. Certainly it was in character with everything that had gone before in this first big television campaign. For television had become the pitchman's platform, the advertising man's billboard.

"How Ike Did It" was the November 5 headline on a New York tabloid. In the television studios "ike" is the trade term for the iconoscope or "eye" of the TV camera—like "mike" for microphone—and the headline writer

of the tabloid was wiser than he knew. The "ike" had, indeed, done wonders to elect our next President. Of course, he is greatly indebted to hundreds of anonymous account executives, air-time buyers, producers, writers, directors, and technicians. The advertising bunch produced the story, but it was "ike" and "mike" that beamed the show into our living-rooms.

The advertising industry was just as willing to work for the Democrats too, and there is little doubt that the defeated candidate would have welcomed heavier reliance on TV. But the Democrats simply did not have the funds.

General Eisenhower opened and closed his campaign on television with great dignity. On his first appearance in mufti at Abilene and when he read Stevenson's admission of defeat at the Commodore Hotel and promised to do his utmost to justify the people's trust, television presented a portrait of healthy candor. As Harriet Van Horne pointed out in the *New York World-Telegram and Sun*, TV projected Eisenhower in the "father image." At the Commodore he spoke just a few words, without script. There was no note of gloating, no anger against the men he had beaten. There was only the humility of a leader aware of the great responsibility for which he had been chosen.

But between Abilene and the softly spoken "good night" from New York, television had brought us another Eisenhower, one that the advertising men had created. Eisenhower on the hustings was a man reading a script, an uninspired, tired announcer bringing the commercials because the kiddies need shoes, a man purposely cast in the homey role to increase sales among the home folk. Now and then the director in the control room threw the cue for a smile, and he smiled. He reacted just as readily when the script called for glare or glower or growl.

Richard Nixon's performance, when he pretended to bare his financial soul, was an astonishing tear-jerker. Both *Variety* and the *Billboard* called the show a faithful take-off on the soap-opera, the writer on the *Billboard* suggesting that it should have been advertised as "Dick's Other Income."

SAUL CARSON has been a radio and TV critic for many years. He is now writing for both mediums.

Senator McCarthy's "exposé" of Stevenson was bad melodrama. In one area—that covered out of Ames, Iowa, by Station WOI-TV—even the technology gagged at McCarthy's act. When General Robert E. Wood introduced McCarthy from Chicago, the viewers tuned to WOI-TV saw the face of Wood but the voice they heard belonged to the actor J. Carroll Naish playing the little immigrant from Italy in a situation comedy called "Life with Luigi." By air WOI-TV had received the TV picture it had ordered, but the sound it expected by land line turned out to be the sound of "Luigi" from another network. Unfortunately this fiasco was confined to the WOI-TV area. But it did last seven wonderful minutes.

Governor Dewey picked out of the TV trash barrel a charity-fund-raising gimmick discarded by Milton Berle and Bob Hope. He used the device of an eighteen-hour "telethon" over a local New York TV outlet on the day before we went to the polls. He appealed to liberal New Yorkers by characterizing Sparkman as "an extreme right-winger" and "reactionary." He answered telephone queries in the best disc-jockey manner, and it was obvious that many of the questions had been planted to provide pegs for the elucidation of standard G. O. P. campaign doctrine. For change of pace, he had the cameras switch to a nearby hotel lounge. There a man known on the air as the maestro of "Happy Felton's Knot-Hole Gang," brought before the cameras the living testimony of "housewives for Eisenhower." Some of these home bodies gave their names as Helen Hayes, Fleur Cowles, and Mrs. Irving Berlin. Finally, Dewey hammered hard at his audience to send "Ike-o-Grams," a twist on the chain-letter idea.

DURING the last ten days of the campaign, when the electorate was presumably weighing basic issues, the Republicans put on a blitz of television and radio spot announcements, using everything learned in the art of selling anything from dog food to deodorants. The Republican National Committee denied that it had any connection with this \$1,500,000 project; most of the money was provided by local and state committees and Citizens for Eisenhower.

Finally came the last hour of the last night of the campaign. Eisenhower and Nixon, with their wives, staged an "at home"—in the living-room set of a Boston television studio. Ike and Dick, with Mamie and Pat, were not campaigning. Certainly not. They were just two American couples, and like all American couples they had a TV set in front of them. And what did they see? Reports of the progress of the campaign.

With great skill the "people" had been written into a masterful script. The author had prescribed that at a certain point the director on the spot must "get a genuine Korean veteran." The vet, in uniform, was ready on location. Switch to film, back to live camera, show a super-

market with the clerk changing the price of food (let the authentic brand name show) by reversing the numerals on a 49-cent price tag, making it read 94 cents. Texas—get those Texans, be sure they are Democrats; Philadelphia—stir up that bunch of college students; that's a swell touch having young Sara Delano Roosevelt indorsing Ike, even though she has to admit she isn't old enough to vote; Seattle; San Francisco; Camera No. 1, back to Boston, on Dick, on Pat, on Mamie, on Ike—cut!

From eleven to midnight this show had the clear track on all transcontinental channels. It was a mammoth production. It was done with vast skill. It was a monstrous, patent fraud. It was excellent propaganda. Along with other factors, it worked. Eisenhower is the victor.

The cost of all this flummery was stupendous. It is still being computed and may run, for the entire political campaign, up to \$20,000,000 for TV and radio alone. But that is only money, and most of it will be reported in due and legal time. We may never know the moral costs of such utter disrespect for a communications tool as sharp and powerful as television.

At a panel on mass communications about four years ago, Clifford J. Durr, ex-member, and conscience, of the Federal Communications Commission, warned that radio and the infant television "can carry an inflection of a voice or a gesture that may convert truth into a lie." He saw them as tools that "have no choice between artistry and banality," tools employed by people, tools that can with equal impact "inform or confuse, educate or degrade, challenge the emotions of people or exploit them." The people who used those tools in this campaign were advertisers. They tied a future President to their products.

The advertisers are going farther. Already sponsors have been signed up for the telecast of the next President's inauguration. The identity of the script writer has not yet been revealed.

It has been suggested, in bitter jest, that the sponsors pick up in 1956 the option on the next-to-closing act, the balloting itself—if we think of the election returns as the final curtain stunt. If we carry through logically, the Presidential ballots four years from now will be cast at home through special plugs (distributed free by retailers) attached to the electric toaster, coffee percolator, or shaver. There is relevance here, since the principal campaign sponsors this year—on ABC, CBS, and NBC, respectively—were Admiral, Westinghouse, and Philco. Under this plan the voting would be computed instantaneously by the very "electronic-brain" calculators used by the major networks this year to compute the election results. Whether such extension of the advertising man's dream would help democracy and intelligent and responsible citizenship is something for the citizens to determine.

BOOKS and the ARTS

"Big Brother"—The Union of South Africa

THE MISTAKEN LAND. By Michael Ardizzone. British Book Center. \$2.

REPORT ON SOUTHERN AFRICA. By Basil Davidson. British Book Center. \$3.50.

RACIAL SEPARATION IN SOUTH AFRICA. By Eugene P. Dvorin. The University of Chicago Press. \$4.50.

THE PEOPLES AND POLICIES OF SOUTH AFRICA. By Leo Marquard. Oxford University Press. \$3.50.

THE CHOICE BEFORE SOUTH AFRICA. By E. S. Sachs. Philosophical Library. \$5.75.

AFRICA SOUTH OF THE SAHARA. By a Study Group of the South African Institute of International Affairs. Oxford University Press. \$6.

THE recent publication of six important books dealing in whole or in part with the Union of South Africa attests the gravity of a situation that has grown worse since the books were written. All six are by experienced and competent observers or scholars. The English-born Ardizzone spent several years in the Union as an English newspaper correspondent. Davidson, one-time member of the staff of the *Economist* and the *London Times* and now of the *New Statesman*, recently visited the two Rhodesias, Basutoland, and the Union. The only American in the group, Dvorin, was on duty with the United States Maritime Service in South and West Africa during the war. Born in the Orange Free State and educated at Oxford, Marquard returned home in 1922 and taught school until the outbreak of the war. Under the pseudonym of John Burger he wrote in 1943 "The Black Man's Burden," one of the most penetrating analyses of the subject up to that time. E. S. ("Solly") Sachs, general secretary of the Garment Workers' Union of South Africa, has recently been arrested for alleged violation of the Suppression of Communism Act, although he was expelled from the Communist Party in 1932 (Davidson, p. 34). Twenty-seven specialists, including

J. D. Rheinallt Jones, director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, 1930-1947, constituted the Study Group of the South African Institute of International Affairs.

"Africa South of the Sahara" is the best compendium of factual information since Lord Hailey's monumental "An African Survey." Perhaps its greatest value, however, stems from the candid indication of the predominant role that the Union is assuming in the impending crisis in Africa. By far the largest number of European settlers south of the Sahara are in the Union, "where all major political parties are unanimous that the white man must remain dominant. Insistence on this fundamental principle is also the keynote of government policy in Southern Rhodesia. It is strong, too, among the Europeans in Northern Rhodesia, Kenya, and Tanganyika. The 'settler' populations of the British territories to the north of the Union of South Africa think of that country as their 'big brother' in maintaining the ascendancy of the white man on this continent."

Marquard suggests that as British policy seeks to protect the natives in these territories, the European settlers may look to South Africa for leadership in native policy. Davidson develops at greater length the attitudes of Europeans in Basutoland and the two Rhodesias as well as the adamant opposition of African leaders in the two Rhodesias and in Nyasaland to the formation of a Central African federation. And Dvorin quotes the ominous phrase, "'Mason-Dixon' line south of the Sahara," which extends from the Kenya highlands through the highlands of East and South Central Africa and thence westward over South West Africa to the Atlantic. North of the line African nationalism is growing more and more insistent, not only in the Gold Coast and Nigeria but in other British territories.

I learned in France this year that self-government rather than increased representation in the French National Assembly is the goal of some French West African political leaders and students. It is not surprising, then, that Ardizzone

is convinced that Malan "is training his *Herrenvolk*" to take the lead in Africa south of the Sahara. I consider unfortunate, therefore, the conclusion of the Study Group of the Brookings Institution in its 1952 edition of "Major Problems of United States Foreign Policy, 1952-1953" that "Africa south of the Sahara . . . does not pose the urgent problems for American foreign policy that the North African-Mediterranean-Middle East area does." In one sense it might be said that the problem is more urgent since there is perhaps still time to prevent a duplication in Africa south of the Sahara of events in the regions enumerated. Moreover, Africans reading this passage must inevitably conclude that they too must resort to arms if they wish the United States to take an active interest in their problems.

As to the major problems within the Union the five individual authors are in substantial agreement. Marquard's book is the most valuable analysis of the historical background, people, government, administration, color bar, political questions, education, religion, and the Union's "colonies." Dvorin has probed most deeply the historical, ideological, religious, demographic, ecological, and political roots of *apartheid*. Part Three of Sachs's volume, The Trade Union and Labor Movement, is its most important contribution. This is all the more true because whatever hope there may be for an equitable solution of the Union's ills seems to lie in the development of trade unions.

Davidson, who spent the least time in the Union, is the most optimistic. By the end of 1949, he points out, there were fifty-six trade unions with mixed memberships and a total of 118,168 members. He recognizes, however, that the picture is quite different in the older craft unions and reminds us that during the bloody strike of 1922 white workers carried banners with the inscription, "Workers of the World, Unite for a White South Africa." Since then members of trade unions have been some of the strongest supporters of the color bar, *apartheid*, and the removal of the Cape colored from a single electoral

role. Dvorin and Marquard also see a ray of hope in the spread of industrialization and the growth of unions.

Sir Francis de Guingand, chairman of the Study Group, adds his belief that "the surest way of achieving racial harmony between white and black must be to improve the African's standard of living, which is at present so low. Suppression and segregation can only be short-term answers to the problem." He adds immediately, however, that "whatever solution may be found it should be remembered that it is unreasonable to expect the European, who has made Africa his home and has done so much to assist in its development, to accept a policy which may mean submergence both economically and politically by the more numerous Africans and Asiatics. He would be signing his own death warrant." Ardizzone believes that most white South Africans—Boers and Britons—regardless of party, religion, or economic status, are determined to maintain their dominant position and that the only hope lies in the establishment of a United Nations trusteeship over the Union, with the United States as the administering authority. Let us, therefore, consider the testimony of the man best qualified to evaluate the role of trade unionism in bringing about an equitable solution.

Sachs states that there are three main trends of policy regarding non-Europeans in the trade-union movement. The mining unions and some of the less important craft unions advocate a complete color-bar policy. Some of the unions of workers engaged in secondary industries, such as textiles, foods, and chemicals, oppose any form of color bar or racial disunity. Particularly encouraging is the fact that some Afrikaner women are the most outspoken champions of this policy. In the center is a group of the largest unions, including Sachs's Garment Workers' Union, whose attitude is well set forth in the following passage: "This group of trade unions recognizes the need to organize and uplift the non-European workers, and pursues a policy of 'parallel organization' because of the racialism prevailing amongst its own European members. These unions have no color bar in their constitution, and where, as is usually the case in the Cape, there is no opposition from their membership, the non-Euro-

pean workers are freely admitted to membership and attend the same branch meetings as Europeans. In the Transvaal, however, where racial feeling among European workers is much stronger, Europeans, colored, and Africans are organized into separate branches within the same union."

In brief, the policies of South African trade unions are not unlike those of the American Federation of Labor fifty years ago. Will South African trade unions discard their color bar rapidly enough to prevent an explosion which seems in the making? The chances have not been improved by the role of Big Brother that the Union has assumed, a role that is uncomfortably similar to that of Big Brother in George Orwell's "Nineteen Eighty-Four." These six books help to point up the similarity and to warn us that a policy of drift is

replete with danger. It is too early to determine whether the combined non-violent resistance movement of Africans and Asians will be more effective than trade unions in stopping the further expansion of what Davidson aptly terms "furor Malanicus."

RAYFORD W. LOGAN

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THE BIG CHANGE. America Transforms Itself, 1900-1950. By Frederick Lewis Allen. Harper and Brothers. \$3.50.

IT IS a commonplace of modern American history that the United States has undergone a profound transformation in the first half of this century—the smug, isolated country of 1900 has become the anxious and relatively responsible world power of 1950.

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Frederick Lewis Allen, who has already written entertainingly of America in the twenties and thirties, takes this big change as his theme. His chronicle is filled with amusing detail and wise observation, and it would be difficult to improve upon its style and its pace.

But "The Big Change" is completely successful only at the level of high-grade journalism. Mr. Allen records the surface phenomena brilliantly, but his account lacks analytical depth and leaves the most vital questions unanswered. He describes the gradual adjustment of the economic structure of this nation to new demands, and correctly notes that the United States government of 1950 is no longer the spectator to the economy that it was in 1900. But we seek in vain for a penetrating analysis of the forces that transformed a crude capitalism into that peculiar system of countervailing power of which J. K. Galbraith has written so persuasively. Nor does "The Big Change" offer a clear insight into the part played in this transformation by individuals and movements. Woodrow Wilson, whose domestic legislative program pioneered in giving an affirmative role to government, is barely mentioned. The New Deal, which, as Mr. Allen admits, "permanently altered the nature of the American economy," is passed off in largely descriptive fashion in a few pages. Yet it was probably the New Deal more than any other series of policies in recent American history that ratified and made permanent the very changes that are the theme of this book.

Again, "The Big Change" is eloquent on the dangers to civil liberties that arise from such domestic terrorists as McCarthy and "Red Channels." The reader can only echo Mr. Allen's sentiments when he writes: "It is time . . . we rid ourselves of the notion that the direction of change at home is toward socialism or communism, and that therefore loyal Americans must stand pat. This notion is a stultifying force in our life. It causes well-meaning people to imagine that anyone with unorthodox ideas must be suspect of subversive intent. It tends to cramp men's imaginations into a timid conformity." But the problem is, of course: Why has this notion taken hold of so many people? Why are the irresponsibles capable of intimidating the well-meaning? We

might suppose that the answers to these questions would be found at least partly in the growing monopolization of our mass communications, or in the increasing dependence and insecurity of our white-collar groups, but these vital developments are neglected here.

It might seem carping to criticize "The Big Change" for not being the kind of book that Mr. Allen had not intended to write in the first place. It is worth repeating, therefore, that it is a mellow and thoroughly charming volume which tells the story of the changing American scene with humor and affection. But Mr. Allen's commitment to unreconstructed liberalism obscures his view of those underlying trends that move all modern societies, including our own. "The Big Change" concludes that our country is under a severe strain, but the nature of that strain can be grasped only if the fundamental maladjustments of modern society, which this book slights, are fully discussed.

PETER GAY

Miss Porter's Essays

THE DAYS BEFORE. By Katherine Anne Porter. Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$4.

THE way of dissent and the way of orthodoxy are apt to be one and the same. Although Katherine Anne Porter attacks "the military police of orthodoxy" in "The Days Before," she does so not out of a lack of faith but by "compulsion of belief," because she, like Thomas Hardy, is committed to the faith of "the Inquirers." The articles of this faith, which I suppose is what Miss Porter means when she speaks of the "continuous, central interest and preoccupation of [my] lifetime," include insistence that the artist be free of a militant social consciousness, that he be concerned with individual human beings, with the individual's need for recognizing, understanding, and accepting his human responsibilities and opportunities; recognition and acceptance of man's functions and limitations as an animal in nature; emphasis upon the use of reason, tempered by a suspicion that mysterious, irrational forces working in man's unconscious mind may invalidate reason and cause man to rationalize, to delude himself; awareness of the seething internal realities which often are

obscured by external appearances; rejection of dogmas which provide easy answers to problems that may, after all, have no solutions; tolerance of the inquisitive spirit in man which enables him to participate with joy in everyday life and which causes him to attempt to see through his illusions, to find out what is "true" for him. Concomitants of Miss Porter's creed are her devotion to truth-telling—that is, the art of fiction—her social awareness, her skepticism of abstract theories, and her exalted view of the devout artist, who, though he is only human, endowed with the responsibilities of other men, can be compared to the saint. Because Miss Porter's preoccupation is essentially religious, it is appropriate that such expressions as "saints and artists," the "vocation" of the artist; and the poet's songs to "the greater glory of life" recur in her essays.

While Miss Porter's beliefs are not formulated in any single essay, they underlie the Mexican essays, the personal statements, and the critical studies that make up "The Days Before." These implicit values unify the book, but the subject matter is highly diversified. The Mexican essays, for example, range from an expanded review of D. H. Lawrence's "The Plumed Serpent," to an early letter to the editors of *Century* magazine explaining that she wrote about Mexico because the Southwest is her familiar country, to a brilliant study of the life and times of Fernández de Lizárdi, to a witty, humane sketch of the Mexican peon's changing way of life, to a portrayal of the charmed life of an American archaeologist who probably was the prototype for Givens, the grave-digger in "María Concepción." The personal essays, too, cover a wide variety of subjects: Miss Porter's subtle study of family life in the Southwest (material later used in "The Source"), the popular essays on love and marriage written for the *Mademoiselle* audience, and three critical statements which might better have been grouped with the critical writings. These three statements and the critical essays on Henry James, Thomas Hardy, Gertrude Stein, Eudora Welty, Virginia Woolf, and Edith Sitwell most directly reflect Miss Porter's values. Thus Miss Porter observes in her sensitive biographical sketch of James that "knowledge at the price of utterly 'see-

ing through' everything" was James's goal. And in her notes on Hardy she attacks the "parochial" criticism of T. S. Eliot, who had denounced Hardy as "diabolic"; she finds that Hardy adheres to "the great tradition of dissent," to "the Inquirers" who object to the dogmas of conventional religion and who conclude that "both malevolence and benevolence originated in the mind of man, and . . . such plan as existed in regard to him he had created for himself."

Readers familiar with Katherine Anne Porter's fiction will not be surprised by the purity and brilliance of her style or the subtlety and complexity of her insights in this collection. Perhaps some readers will be dissatisfied with the grouping of the essays, but that is a minor objection. More serious is the omission of three studies from a work in progress (since 1927) on "The Devil and Cotton Mather." The Mather essays, which appeared in magazines now difficult to obtain, probably should have been reprinted here, since they are an integral part of Miss Porter's critical achievement. EDWARD SCHWARTZ

What Matters in History

AVENUES OF HISTORY. By L. B. Namier. The Macmillan Company. \$3.

THE author of this book, professor of modern history at the University of Manchester, has a record of profound research in several historical fields. He is also a scholar who understands that "what matters in history is the great outline and the significant detail: what must be avoided is the deadly morass of irrelevant narrative."

In an age of specialization Namier has developed broad interests ranging from the British Parliament in the eighteenth century through European nationalism in the nineteenth century to the diplomatic history of our own times and Zionism. Aspects of all these subjects are touched on in the present collection of reviews and occasional papers which triumphantly bear the test of republication. In addition there are two introductory essays, the first of which discusses the subject matter of history and its possibilities and limitations as a guide to action. The second, a review of Arnold Toynbee's "Civilization on

Trial," pays tribute to the imaginative scope of this work while commenting with dry wit on Toynbee's inability to make up his mind "whether to treat religion as a revealed truth or as an historically conditioned phenomenon."

In dealing with modern Germany Namier writes with acidulous authority. Seldom have I read anything more devastating than his review of the Memoirs of Richard von Kühlmann, imperial state secretary in 1917-18 and chief German delegate at the Brest-Litovsk peace conference. With deadly citations, which prove his own complete grasp of the tangled diplomacy of World War I, Namier exposes Kühlmann as a clumsy liar and braggart. This review is required reading for those among us who tend to take at face value the apologies of ex-Nazis that are beginning to appear. For it is a salutary reminder that the dedicated German nationalist, no less than the dedicated Communist, never hesitates to rewrite history to serve his own ends.

KEITH HUTCHISON

Books in Brief

HERE'S A HOW-DE-DO. My Life in Gilbert and Sullivan. By Martyn Green. Norton. \$3.75. A simple, modest, and not too eventful book of reminiscences by the comedian who most pleased American audiences on the various visits of the D'Oyly Carte Company and who is currently appearing in S. M. Chartock's Gilbert and Sullivan Company. As a young man he went from the chorus of a musical troupe into the chorus of the leading Gilbert and Sullivan company and has there spent almost the whole of his later theatrical life. He served abroad in both world wars and tells something of his adventures. More of the book is concerned with theatrical anecdotes—accounts of the contretemps which occurred during years of performance and of the invention of bits of business which audiences here will remember. In view of his unusual agility, perhaps the most surprising fact is that he was so severely wounded in the first war that the doctors told him he would never walk again. Mr. Green is very reserved on the subject of his recent withdrawal from the company, but what he hints offers confirmation of the ru-

mor that none of the successive heads of the D'Oyly Carte dynasty have been especially easy to work for. Perhaps they learned their attitudes from W. S. G.

EDWARD HICKS: PAINTER OF THE PEACEABLE KINGDOM. By Alice Ford. University of Pennsylvania Press. \$8.50. A full-length biography of the Quaker man of God whose paintings formed an important part of his religious life. The richly documented text is occasionally marred by attempts to make it read like a novel, but the approach is primarily that of the archivist, genealogist, and social historian. There are elaborate notes, bibliography, and index. The thirty-seven plates and three color plates completely survey the work of this self-taught American painter, born sixty-five years before the Douanier Rousseau. He seems to have painted nearly one hundred variations on the theme of the Peaceable Kingdom. These and a Noah's Ark fantasy helped give his several farm landscapes a touch of whimsy.

OSCAR WILDE. A PRESENT-TIME APPRAISAL. By St. John Ervine. Morrow. \$3.50. If there are sensible things still to be said about Oscar Wilde, not many of them get into this garrulous and slap-dash book. Taking his facts

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frankly at second hand Mr. Ervine ruminates at length upon such subjects as poetry, playwriting, and pederasty but does not come to very clear conclusions about any of them. The most sensible things said concern Wilde's plays; the least sensible seem to arise out of dogmatic but hazy notions about the biological origins of perversion. On evidence not given we are told for instance that Sir William Wilde's "pituitary and adrenal glands were overactive" and that Oscar "could not, in terms of biology, hope for happiness unless he had an exceptionally large and powerful inheritance of sanctity, and could, therefore, transcend his own nature"—whatever this may mean. For good measure there are many sweeping unfavorable generalizations about the author's fellow-countrymen. As Dr. Johnson once said, the Irish are a fair people—they never speak well of one another.

DANGEROUS ACQUAINTANCES.

By Choderlos de Laclos. Translated by Richard Aldington. New Directions. \$3.75. The reissuing of this wicked old book in Richard Aldington's now classic translation, and in a handsome legible format, makes once more available a remarkable social document. The dangerous acquaintances Laclos chattered on about in his epistolary novel were the idle rich who found the social *mores* of their time—mid-eighteenth century—boring to a degree and who enlivened their days by making mischief, but really first-class mischief, which can always precipitate tragedy. Though the idle rich, except for a handful of potentates who weigh more than their elephants, are a thing of the past, the bored and vicious are forever with us. Hence Laclos's indirect moralizing cannot help reminding us of the social movers and shakers in any upper-middle-class group with pretensions to intellectuality. The book is delightful, leisurely reading.

W. B. YEATS: THE TRAGIC PHASE.

By Vivienne Koch. The Johns Hopkins Press. \$2.25. There is more ill-tempered pedantry in the 148 pages of this dissertation than you would hear in a month of faculty meetings. If you left it all out, there would remain adequate but arid exegeses of thirteen poems from Yeats's last decade. True, anybody who

wants to write about Yeats from now on will have to read this book; there are some good ideas in it. But if Miss Koch wants to write reputable criticism, she must acquire a critic's humility, toward her fellows and her subject. She must stop carping. She must—for this is the most pompous condescension—stop overpraising her poet. Yeats's last poems are all flawed by hysterical feelings and careless meters; furthermore, as poems they are somewhat dull. But to hear Miss K., you'd think he hadn't stopped writing "Byzantium." Meanwhile, let us beseech our publishers, even the subsidized ones, to quit putting good cloth and binder's glue on investigations that should be circulated inexpensively in the academic quarterlies.

Drama

MARGARET
MARSHALL

NO INSULT intended, but Maurice Evans is extremely well cast as a spiv and would-be killer in "Dial 'M' for Murder" (Plymouth Theater). In the second scene he blackmails another spiv, played by Anthony Dawson, into undertaking his dirty work, and both of them make such effective use of physical appearance and facial expression, of inflection and gesture, that the words are hardly necessary to make it clear that these two are capable of anything. With the result that one accepts what follows even when, in broad daylight so to speak, it wouldn't seem likely.

The first scene is a bit slow, mainly because the spectator must be "filled in" on the situation, but from then on the piece moves with speed and gathers suspense. I never heard the name of the author before—Frederick Knott—but I daresay he is no novice at this sort of thing, for the plot is very cleverly contrived, the dialogue is always passable and often bright, and, more important, consistently relevant, so far as I could make out, to the business in hand.

The business in hand is that perfect crime which always turns out, in fiction at least, to be not quite perfect; but there is an added fillip—when the original plan misses fire the murderer improvises another, out of the ruins of the first, which, again, almost succeeds.

I confess that the final latchkey sequence, in which the villain is tripped up, seemed to me a little weak; but I was sufficiently taken in by the atmosphere and the acting to wonder, when I got to my door, whether my own latchkey would fit.

Gusti Huber, who did so well with a trying part in "Flight into Egypt" last year, plays the part of the wife (and murderess) and plays it expertly; Max Halliday as the young man from America—he writes "whodunits" for the radio and is in love with the wife—has just the right aspect of hearty innocence combined with practicality. I have already paid my respects to Mr. Evans and Anthony Dawson. Yet the best performance of the evening is that of John Williams as Inspector Hubbard. This is partly because the role itself is engagingly written. Still, it is cut to an old pattern—the seemingly obtuse police officer who turns out to be smart after all—and skill is required to bring it off.

"Dial 'M' for Murder" makes no pretensions to artistic or social significance. It is a straight "whodunit" very well done—and I found it rather refreshing after some of the serious "dramas" the season has showed.

Music

B. H.
HAGGIN

VIRGIL THOMSON'S "Four Saints in Three Acts," it was saddening to hear, lasted only a few performances in Paris—for lack, I would guess, of the understanding of the words on which its amusing effect so largely depends. And I have been reliably informed that some of the press criticism over there took the line that it was the work of a music critic who had turned to composing and therefore knew how to use only a few simple chords—which was giving Thomson a dose of his own medicine, for it was as completely unrelated to fact as Thomson's analogous contention that whereas Toscanini had learned the traditions of the operatic repertory in the opera house, he had found himself at the age of fifty having to deal with the symphonic repertory with no knowledge of its traditions, and had solved the problem by doing a streamlining job on it. The fact is that

like most European conductors—Muck, Nikisch, Strauss, Mahler, Walter, Busch—Toscanini began his career in the opera house, and soon afterward, at the age of twenty-eight, began to conduct the symphonic repertory with the knowledge of it that he had acquired in the same way as his knowledge of the operatic repertory—by hearing it performed and studying the scores. And it is in recent years that there has been the marked change from elasticity to strictness in tempo that might be called "streamlining": you can hear changes of pace at the beginning of the 1930 recorded performance of Mozart's "Haffner" Symphony, expansions of pace for climaxes in the 1939 recorded performance of Beethoven's "Eroica," that you will not hear in the recent versions.

So with Beethoven's Ninth. The recording just issued by RCA Victor gives us Toscanini's performance at the stage it had reached last spring in the development that had been going on since he first conducted it at the age of thirty-five. Which is to say that it gives us the first three movements without the expansiveness—e. g., the broadening out for the first thunderous proclamation of the main theme of the first movement—that the performance had as late as 1938, and instead with the strictness in tempo (with only slight modifications) it has had since then. But otherwise the recorded performance has characteristics I recall in all the performances since 1927—characteristics, probably, of the first performance in 1902, since they are characteristics of Toscanini's way of performing music: the clarity, continuity, and coherence which cause everything on the printed page to be heard in the living sound and to fall easily and inevitably into place in the steady progression that achieves hair-raising cumulative power in the first movement, radiant sublimity in the third. And as wonderful as ever is the way the feeling for continuity and coherence finds tempos which integrate the many sections of the finale into a progression from one dazzling sublimity to the next. This is still, as it has been for twenty-five years, the definitive performance of the work. And the compensations for our having had to wait for a recording of it until now are that we get it with the marvelously beautiful and sensitive

playing the NBC Symphony has been doing the last couple of years, with the no less marvelous singing of Robert Shaw's Chorale, with the fine work of Eileen Farrell, Nan Merriman, and Jan Peerce, and of Norman Scott after his recitatives, and with faithful reproduction of the beautiful sound and clear texture (but one notes the fuller sonority of the scherzo when it returns after the trio, and even this time Beethoven's little kettledrum joke in the Ritmo di tre battute section is barely audible). The Ninth is on three sides of two LP records, with a beautiful performance of Beethoven's First Symphony on the fourth side.

On another LP is Toscanini's performance of Prokofiev's "Classical" Symphony. For many years the definitive performance of this piece was thought to be Koussevitzky's with the Boston Symphony, which tossed into the air a succession of sonorities of miraculous refinement, radiance, and incorporeal lightness. It was one of the wonders of modern orchestral performance; but I have come to believe that the clear texture of strands wonderfully enlivened by sharp inflection which Toscanini produces with the NBC Symphony is the correct treatment of the music. On the reverse side is the performance of Gershwin's "An American in Paris" previously issued on 45.

A first recording by Vanguard has given me my first hearing of a Symphony in E major (1821) left in sketch form by Schubert, and completed by Weingartner. It has a very beautiful Andante movement, an engaging scherzo and trio, and engaging material in the diffuse finale; but the foreshadowings of the great C major Symphony exist only in Dr. Alfred Einstein's characteristic twittings (quoted on the record envelope) about the relation of this work to others. The performance by Litschauer with the Vienna State Opera Orchestra is excellent.

Mozart's great Piano Concerto K.467 is on a Haydn Society record, with mediocre playing of the solo part by Folmer Jensen, beautiful playing of the orchestral part by the Danish State Radio Chamber Orchestra under Wöldike's direction, and the wonderful Andante movement taken too fast for its proper effect. On the reverse side is the smaller-scale Concerto K.414.

November 15, 1952

CONTRIBUTORS

RAYFORD W. LOGAN, professor of history at Howard University, is the author of "The Operation of the Mandate System in Africa."

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Fascism, American Style

Dear Sirs: Never did the reality of the ominous encroachment of fascism hit me as it did a few nights ago. Senator Flanders was speaking to a small group of his constituents and had delivered an amazingly non-partisan speech. I was unhappy, however, over what seemed to be his personal indorsement of McCarthy, and asked him: "Senator, when basic principles of freedom and justice are in direct conflict with one's politics, do not the tenets of true democracy dictate that one give up his politics? . . . How can you stomach McCarthy?"

Up jumped a super-patriot in the audience who lauded McCarthy as being a "fine patriot who is rendering a great service to his country by exposing its enemies." That was not surprising. What stunned me was the fact that the man was wildly cheered by the crowd. . . . It is one thing to criticize our courts, which have turned in verdicts of "guilty" against those who have been indicted for advocating and thinking certain things; it is quite another to criticize a man who flouts the basic principle of our democratic system by wrecking people's lives without any real attempt to establish their guilt or innocence. . . .

We are at this very moment being tossed into the deep and stinking mire of fascism, American style. But most of us don't realize it yet; we are enjoying the thrill of being tossed through the air. . . . One of the principal characteristics of fascism is the use of falsehood and distortion. Since World War II

Americans have been subjected to as intense a wave of fairy stories and hate-mongering as perhaps any people in modern times. The fruits of it are bound to be the same here as elsewhere: violent treatment of the objects of the attack—in this case Communists and, to a lesser degree, Negroes.

Right now Americans are enjoying their emotional jag. But the pay-off is not going to be pleasant.

VIRGIL L. MC CARTY

Highgate Center, Vt.

Life in Lunamerica

Dear Sirs: Among the letters to the editor of *Collier's* about their recent article on a voyage to the moon, was the following. I submit it as a sad sign of the times.

Los Angeles

J. OTTMAN

San Franciscograd, Cal.

Mr. Cornelius Ryan, Associate Editor, **COLLIER'S**, 640 Fifth Avenue, New York 19, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Ryan:

Your "Man on the Moon" is simply amazing. However, I was set back by one serious deficiency in the moonship cabin that may well wreck the whole undertaking. Neither Herr von Braun nor Artist Freeman has provided accommodations for the three most eminent emblems of the American way of living in our age: the F. B. I., the Un-Moon Activities Committee, and the Atom Bomb. How can you trust fifty (count 'em) scientists and technicians, notoriously subversive characters, to escape the security-check area without federal secret police and a Congressional committee keeping an eye on them all the way up? Who will investigate and fingerprint any possible living matter on the dark face of the moon and who will put them through a loyalty quiz? Haven't you realized the danger of Lunamerica being contaminated from the outset by uncontrolled thoughts?

As a loyal American and prospective settler on whatever moon *Collier's* may decide to occupy, I demand that the moonship personnel cabin be equipped with a receptacle for at least one stool pigeon, a secret sound-recording system, a fingerprint machine, an atom bomb, and a roll of barbed wire to bring true Americanism to the cosmos. Otherwise I'll begin to believe that the whole undertaking is a Soviet plot.

VASSILY SUBVERSOVITCH KREKPOTOFF

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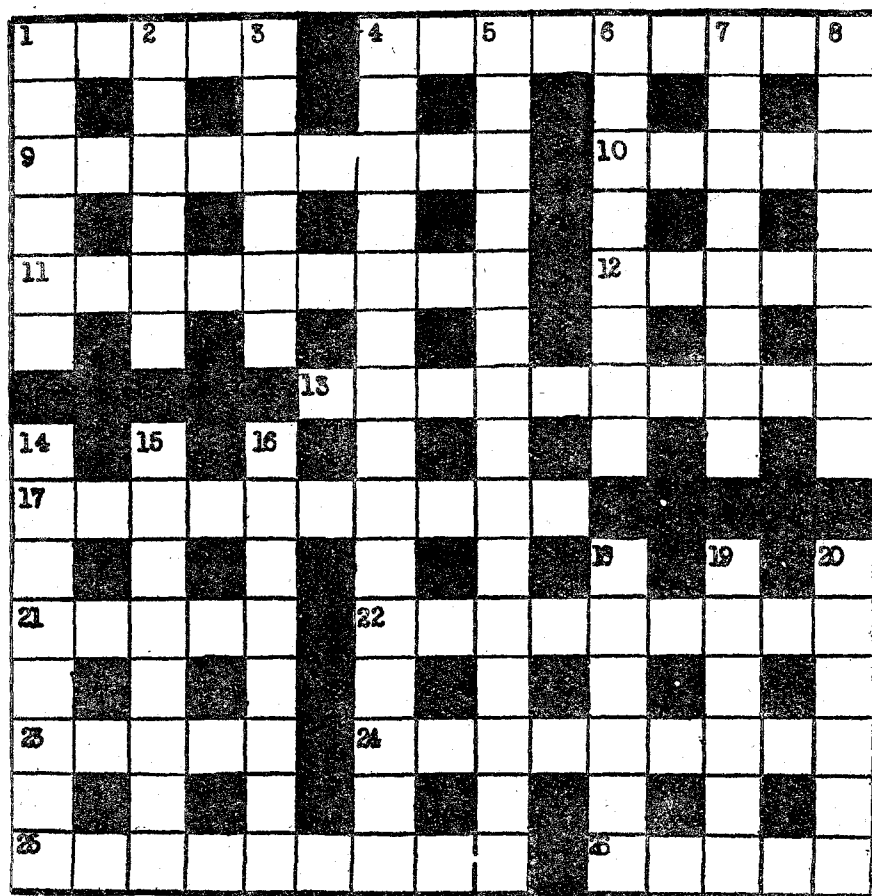
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Crossword Puzzle No. 490

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 and 10. Stet—evidently S. A. shouldn't lie. (3, 2, 5)
- 4 Look in the ministry, perhaps, for a sort of girder. (9)
- 9 Paul Revere and Cassandra? (9)
- 10 See 1 across.
- 11 Is a greased pig? (9)
- 12 Postilion without employment in the city, according to the Greeks. (5)
- 13 Art secrets for which some of us have to wait. (10)
- 17 Where a gardener might put bottles (or would he be going too far if he does)? (10)
- 21 Getting shot with this might awaken school memories for a British officer. (5)
- 22 and 14. What happens when the spider gets filled with tubers and bulbs? (9, 8)
- 23 Old pirates were interested in taking less than this to pieces. (5)
- 24 The kind of cities that gleam in America the Beautiful. (9)
- 25 It might sting you if you don't, by the sound of it. (3, 6)
- 26 In diamonds, such a charge can only be made in advance, except in certain instances of foul play. (5)

DOWN

- 1 Compact distance. (6)
- 2 Characteristics of the arts, it could be. (6)

- 3 See 5 down.
- 4 Pedal model, yet it sounds as though it must be owned outright! (4, 3, 3, 5)
- 5 and 3. Evidently the repair of sewers is a 24-hour job. (3, 5, 3, 4, 2, 4)
- 6 Disingenuous reasoners. (8)
- 7 No car in a shiftless condition carries them. (8)
- 8 Are out of the north side to make one of the "happiness boys"? (8)
- 14 See 22 across.
- 15 How to dispense with little Henrietta. (Or is this a private war?) (6)
- 16 To bind together is not exactly a great sin. (8)
- 18 A green way to make someone see red! (6)
- 19 Trash vehicle? (6)
- 20 Fear of 26 that fits exactly! (6)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 489

ACROSS:—1 and 11 THE BEGINNING OF THE END; 9 REPORTS; 10 SAWYERS; 12 BUOYANCY; 14 SUBVERT; 17 EMPTY; 19 COUPONS; 21 WOODBINE; 23 RENOIR; 25 DIPTERA; 26 TOPSAIL; 27 BRIDGE PARTNERS.

DOWN:—1 TURNTABLE; 2 EXPRESS; 3 ERRAND BOY; 4 and 15 across IPSO FACTO; 5 NASTURTIUM; 6 and 21 down NEWLYWEDS; 7 OCEANIC; 8 ASHY; 13 PERCENTAGE; 15 FLOWER POT; 16 OVERRULES; 18 PROSPER; 20 STORAGE; 22 BREED; 24 STOA.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

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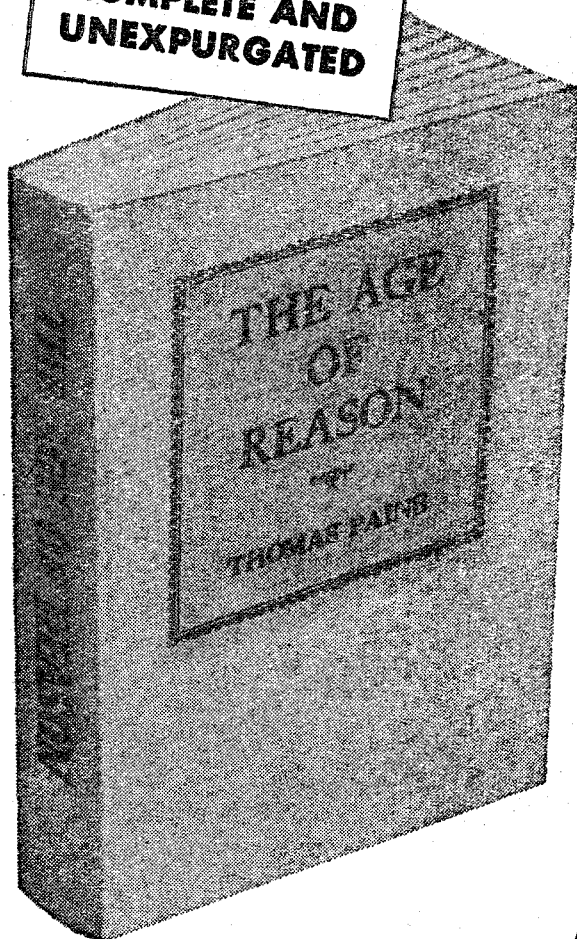
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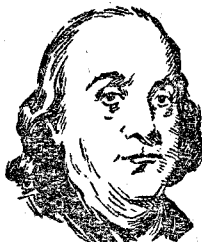
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THOMAS A. EDISON

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